
Imprimatur,

G. Jane, R. P. D. Hen. Episc. Lond.
à Sacris Dom.

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A
S E R M O N

Preached *July* 17. 1676.

IN THE
Cathedral Church of *St. Peter* in *York*,

Before the Right Honourable,
Sir *FRANCIS NORTH*,
Lord Chief Justice of the Common PLEAS;

And the Honourable,
VERE BERTIE Esquire,
One of the Barons of the EXCHEQUER;

His MAJESTIES
JUDGES of Assize for the Northern Circuit.

BY
THOMAS CARTWRIGHT D. D.
And DEAN of *Ripon*,
Chaplain in Ordinary to His MAJESTY.

In the *SAVoy*:

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To the Right Worshipful,
Sir EDMUND JENNINGS Knight,
High Sheriff of the County of YORK.

S I R,



S I owe you my Thanks for the Honour you did me, in thinking me worthy to be imployed in so Publick a Service, as that to which this Discourse relates; so I think it would be more than a Venial Sin to offer such a violence to Gratitude, as to decline your Commands for the Publication of it. I will not therefore use any thing which may look like an Excuse, but instantly shew how inclinable I am to prefer your Judgment before my own; and beg leave to prefix your Name before that, which the Nature of the Subject, no less than the Obligations of the Preacher have made wholly yours. The chief design of the Sermon was to convince them that heard it, that our greatest Secu-

The Epistle Dedicatory.

rity under Heaven is the Wisdom of our Laws, the vigorous Execution whereof, would remove those manifold Mischiefs, which the Relaxation of them hath bred, and will cherish among us. Your Eminent Loyalty is such, that I have good reason to believe you love the Sermon for the Subjects sake; and if there be not also a Power in your Judgment to oblige others to have a good opinion of it, I shall account my self strong enough to abide their Censures, whilst I have you on my side; and endeavour to make my self the more valuable in the World by your Friendship; with the continuation whereof you can Honour none who puts a greater value upon it, and who is more sincerely, than I am,

S I R,

Your most obliged and
humble Servant,

THO. CARTWRIGHT.

Ripon, Aug. 7.
1676.

JUDGES 17. 6.

*In those days there was no King in Israel,
but every man did that which was right
in his own eyes.*



He first and great Reason of *Humane Laws and Dominion*, is a Prevision that *all men* will not be a *Law unto themselves*, so as to do their Duty for love or fear of God; and therefore though there be *Judgments to come* in the next Life, denounced against all Crimes committed in this, yet did God in the very Infancy of the World make an *Edict for Magistracy*: so that the *Civil Power* doth derive its *Pedigree from Heaven*, and is a part of the Government over Mankind, in which God useth the Ministry of Angels, and the service of Men; and it hath accordingly in all *Ages* been found absolutely *necessary* for the preservation of *Community, Peace and Piety*, not to leave persons to terrours at such a distance as are those of Christs second coming to judge the World in Righteousness, but to put
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the *Sword of Vengeance* into one *Mans hand* here on Earth for the benefit of all ; because if Men should be let loose to their licentious freedom, wickedness would increase among them even to cruelty ; nor would *Good Men* have any better security than *Lambs* in a Forest of many *Wolves*, if there were not some *present restraints* for such exorbitant Offenders , whom the determents of the *Life to come* could not over-rule into subjection, that they might at least *obey for wrath, if not for Conscience sake.*

We are like *Children in their Minority*, not fit to be trusted to our own conduct, but to be secured at the publick charge of our *Superiours*, to whom next under God and his good Angels we are most beholding for our safety. Our *Breath of our Nostrils* is not more necessary for our *being*, than our *Princes Sovereignty* is to our *well-being* ; for were he not armed with Authority to overpower Evil doers, the Purse-proud-man would oppress the Poor, the Crafty circumvent the Simple, the weaker party be continually exposed to the spoil and rapine of the stronger, and we prostituted to the exorbitant Lust of every turbulent and domineering Spirit who could prevail to lord it over us.

From hence we may easily conclude, That
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those days must needs be evil, wherein the Civil Government is Unbinged, when the ancient and unquestionable Sovereignty over any People is cut off; of which sad spectacle your Eyes and mine have been deploring Witnesses. For what *Isaias* foretold, was fulfilled in these days, *The People were oppressed every one by another, Isai. 3. 5. and every one by his Neighbour; the Child did behave himself proudly against the Ancient, and the Base against the Honourable: When there was No King in Israel, every one was more than a King to himself, which is the greatest Judgment that can befall a Rebellious People in this World. For better any one a King, than every one a King; and yet every one is more than a King, if he may do without controul what is right in his own Eyes; and therefore we are the most Ingrateful Wretches in the World, and fit to be condemned to such repeated Confusions, if we do not bless God, both with our Lips and in our Lives, for the Re-establishment of that Regal Authority, to which we so evidently owe the preservation of our Order, our Peace, and our Religion; and indeed of every other good thing which is and ought to be dear unto us.*

*Moses was the first King in Israel, and when he absented himself from the People but for
forty*

forty days, they *Calv'd themselves* a Molten Image, and became such *Beastly Idolaters* as to fall down and worship it. Their *new fashion in Religion*, which they took up in his absence, (as ridiculous as it was) was quickly *followed by the Crowd*; and their *God of Gold* (though but a Calf indeed) did not long want *Worshippers*.

His next immediate Successor was *Joshua*, and as soon as he was dead, *Micha* and his old doating Mother *made them both Gods and Priests*; and from what occasion these abominable Disorders sprang, my Text tells you, the true reason was, *There was no King in Israel*, none to prohibite or punish such Prophanations; and so bless God or blaspheme him, be of *any* or *no Religion*, come to Church or stay at home; follow any Seducer, though never so dangerous; embrace any Herefie, though never so damnable; or espouse any Faction, though never so desperate and seditious; turn Idolaters, or commit Sacriledge; every Man may do what he lists, when there is no Publick Magistrate to call him to an account for it.

Thrice more we read in holy Scripture this Burden of the same Lamentation repeated, that *There was no King in Israel*; and this upon no less occasions than Idolatry and abominable Lusts, and with no less pernicious consequences and effects than *Disorder and Dissolution*.

1. When

1. When there was no King in *Israel*, who is εἰκὼν εἰμφορῆς Θεοῦ, the living Image of God, the *Tribe of Dan* will have a dead Idol, they *break into Micha's House*, rob him of his Priest and and consecrated things; and if you inquire how such *Sacrilege, Idolatry, Felony and Burglary* could escape their deserved punishment? 'Tis fully answered, *That there was no King in* Judg. 18.1 *Israel*, no *Heir of Restraint*, (for so the King is called *Verf. 7.* of that Chapter) because He by his Inheritance is obliged to curb and restrain all headstrong Impieties, and to cast up Boundaries against such overflowing Iniquities.

2. At another time we read of an *horrible Rape* committed, a Woman violently and shamefully abused by the extravagant Lust of barbarous *Ruffians*, and the Spirit of God renders this also for the reason of that *violent Uncleanness of Gibeah*, *That there was no King in Israel.*

3. Lastly, The *Men of Benjamin* became the bold Champions of *Gibeah's Lewdness*; and being flesh'd with the double success of their evil cause, they persisted in their Villany, till all but six hundred were destroyed. These *surprized the Virgins dancing at Shiloh*, ravish'd them away by violence from their Parents, and en-

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forced

forced them to Marriage; of which Rape and Riot the reason rendred is the same as it was of the former, *In those days there was no King in Israel.*

Judg. 21.
23, 25.

So that my Text, you see, is no single instance, no particular, strange, casual, or accidental Emergence; but as it was in the beginning, so it hath been ever since, and will be undoubtedly to the Worlds end; Where there is no King (that is, no ordinary Judge or Governour, as the word is elsewhere taken) every one will do that which is right in his own eyes.

Gen. 36.3.
Deut. 33.5

My Text is made up of Confusion, Anarchy, and the sad Effects of it divide it and the World; nor can you expect any perfect Method in the prosecution of such Disorders, wherein we are concerned to take notice of these three Particulars:

- I. The Tragical Antecedent, wherein the great cause of Israels Miseries, and from what remarkably fatal time they bore date, is recorded; *In those days there was no King in Israel.*
- II. The Terrible Consequent, or Israels dismal condition without their King; *Every one did that which was right in their own Eyes.*

III. The

III. The *Infallible Connexion* between that *Cause* and this *Effect*; the one is so intail'd upon the other, that there is but an intermediate *Comma*, hardly a breathing space, between the loss of a King and Licentiousness:

Which makes the words by a clear *Epiphonema* to declare the *great Benefit* of a Legitimate King in *Israel*, the *Necessity of Laws*, and the *Happiness* of those People, who live under such a Government as takes an impartial care of their execution, which will bring the Text home from the *Jews* to the *Gentiles*, from those in *Israel* to us in *England*.

Now the worst beginning that any Men living ever made, was, when we of this Nation began to be weary of our *Late Martyr'd Sovereign*, that being the *fatal time* from whence we may experimentally derive the *Original Cause* of all ours, as the Holy Spirit hath here done of *Israels Miseries*; which I therefore term,

1. The *Tragical Antecedent*: In those days there was no King in *Israel*. After *Sampson's* death, there was an *Inter-regnum*, not under *Othoniel*, but between *Sampson's* and *El's* Government, (to which *Drusins* and *Tremellins*

think this instance relates.) Others say there was no Supream and continual ordinary Magistrate over the whole body of the People ; for the Judges were extraordinary, raised at Gods pleasure over a part of the People, and without absolute Authority ; and therefore the People would not hearken unto them, because their Power was only of Direction, not of Dominion ; they could counsel, but not correct them : There were at that time many Task-masters over Israel, but no King in it.

Now the King is of as publick and universal Influence in his Dominions, as is the Sun in the Firmament, He being the Publick Ballancer of each Private Interest, with which he is intrusted as the proper Guardian of Equity and Justice, *Custos utriusque Tabulae*, to whose Sacred Custody God hath committed the Two Tables of the Law, and intrusted Him to see that we live soberly among our selves, religiously towards God, and righteously towards our Neighbours.

Martial.
18. Epigr.
65.

Rerum prima Salus & una Caesar.

He is the principal Pillar upon which the Strefs of his Kingdom lies ; and as the King doth not live *Sibi*, *sed Populo*, so neither doth
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He die to his own, but to their disadvantage; and though ten thousand others might steal out of the World and no body mind or miss them, yet the *Loss of Him* will be as soon felt, as the plucking up of a substantial Stake out of a rotten Hedge, or the removal of a Buttress from a declining Wall. And when this *Tutelar Angel of a Kingdom* is recall'd, 'tis time for the Inhabitants to tremble, for fear of the *Destroying Angel's* coming among them. A King will be suddenly and soundly miss'd, not only in *Edom* but in *Israel*, which will quickly turn to a *Babel* without him, in as much as that very Law by which we hold our Lives and Liberties will be but a *Dead Letter*, unless it have *his Authority* to actuate and enliven it. For let the Rule be never so strait and perfect, it measureth nothing out of his Hand who hath skill to use it; and when the *Law* hath defined what is Right or Wrong, there will want a *Judge* to sentence for the *Plaintiff* or *Defendant*; and let the *Directive Power* of the Law be never so good, it must of necessity fall to the ground, if there be not a *co-active* to assist it.

Libertas Libertate Perit, to live as we please would be the ready way to lose our Liberty, and undo our selves. Tyranny it self were infinitely

finitely more tolerable than such an unbridled Liberty. For that like a *Tempest* might throw down here and there a fruitful Tree, but this like a *Deluge* would sweep away all before it : and *Confusion* hath ever been found so much worse than the *hardest Subjection*, and even the *most corrupt Government* so much better than a *Civil War*, that it was over-ruled in *Nerva's* time by *Fronto* the Consul, *Melius est sub hisse, sub quibus nihil licet, quam sub quibus omnia* : That it is better to live under the *severest Prince*, where every *Suspicion* is made a *Crime*, and every *Crime Capital*, than to have *none* at all but a lawless Anarchy. And therefore the want of a King of which *Israel* so much complains, is a *complicated Mischief*, involving many thousand Evils in it, and such as are not to be calculated by any single person, but we must all lay our heads together to sum them up ; which that we may the better do, I proceed to examine that particular account, which the second part of my Text gives of them, viz.

II. The *Terrible Consequent*, or *Israels* miserable condition without their King, in as much as every one did that which was right in his own Eyes. Every Man whose short-sighted Soul can see no farther than his Eye, ought not to be

Cardan.
Encom.
Neron.c.5

be empannell'd to give in a Verdict of *Right*, of which to expect a true Judgment from him, were to exact an account beyond the Sphere of his notice. For admit, that some of *Nature's Courser Wares* may lie upon the Bulk, expos'd to the transient view of *every Vulgar Eye*; yet these her *Choicer Jewels* of Right and Equity are lock'd up in her private Cabinet, for their sight who can purchase them at their due rates of Sweat and Oyl. If therefore *any Mans Eye* be the competent Judge of Right, yet without peradventure *not every Mans*; certainly not those of the *Croud*, who prostrate their Assent to every shallow Appearance, and defile their Judgments with each bold Conjecture that flatters them. And indeed if every private Man had *Wit and Honesty* sufficient to govern himself and his own Actions, there would be no need of *Publick Laws* to direct, and *Magistrates* to guide them: But alas! most Mens Minds are too much out of order to have such a Trust reposed in them, as being acted by fond and absurd Principles, and so horribly impos'd upon by their Vices and Passions, that their Determinations are as different as their Judgments, and those as their Interests; and they who have no reason in them but *their Wills*, will hear none against

against them, which would make Controversies and Dissentions endless, if the Wisdom of Providence in a foresight of these Mischiefs to which we are thus obnoxious, had not caus'd us all to be born Subjects to some Empire, placing a *Prince and Priest* at first in every Family, and suffering none, since the World was better peopled, to live without the Restraints of an overruling Government.

But if every *Mans Eye* could be supposed to be the competent Judge of *some Right*, yet without peradventure not of *his own Right*, for we are prone to fawn upon our selves, and to be wilfully ignorant of our own failings. Our *Affections* do so easily bribe our Judgments to most apparent degrees of inequality, that it will be in vain to expect a *Right Sentence* where the *Judge is a Party*. We do so infinitely believe what makes for our selves, and so easily settle in a firm perswasion of the goodnels of our own Causes without examining them, that any thing *seems Right* to us, if it be *our Interest* to have it so; and whatsoever we see through those *Selfish Spectacles*, comes with such great improvement to our Judgments, that as oft as *Reason* is against us, so oft are we *against Reason*. *Rectum non ex propria recti, honestique rationem, sed ex uninf-*

uninscujusque libidine definitur : Nor is there any Crime so bad but it seems as right in some Mens Eyes, as the *Worshipping of an Idol* did in *Micha's*, or as *Rebellion under pretence of Religion* did to them who had *Espons'd the Good Old Cause* ; and in pure tenderness of Conscience to make her a *Sufficient Dowry*, Joyntred her in the Blood and Estates of their Lawful Sovereign and his Loyal Subjects, till their Gospel-Reformation was in a manner compleated, and the *Godly Party came to Inherit the Fatteft Portions of this Land*. Nor need we go back to them for an instance of Mens being blinded with their Passions and Interests ; for we see not the *Beams in our own Eyes* , but hug our very Deformities when they bear our Names , and will hardly be perswaded they are so, when we take our selves to be their Authors.

Nemo suæ mentis motus non æstimat æquos Prov.
Quodque volunt homines, se bene velle putant.

Many Men, many Minds, and each strongly addicted to his own. If therefore every Man should be his own Judge, so as to take upon him to determine his own Right, and according to such Determination to proceed in the maintenance of it, not only the Government, but the
C King.

Kingdom it self would quickly come to ruine : and yet admit of the former, and you cannot exclude the latter. For *the Hand* will follow *the Eye* , and Men *do as it seems right to them*, be it never so wrong in it self : so that if a *vicious Eye* be seconded with *Strong Hands*, and there be *No King* to pinion them , we cannot expect more Miseries, than will infallibly invade us, nor fewer than beset the *Jews*, when *every Man did that which was right in his own Eyes*. Diseases in the *Eye*, Errours in the Judgment, are dangerous ; and there being not *one Reason in us*, there is the more need of *one Power over us*. Yet they who see amiss, hurt none (they say) but themselves : But how if their unquiet Opinions will not be kept at home ? but prove as Thorns in their Sides, and will not suffer them to take any rest, till from *Liberty of Thinking*, they come to *Liberty of Acting*? (which the most Judicious *Hooker* foresaw they would do, and we have seen they did.) Then without question, if we cannot pull Mens Eyes out of their Heads, (which were inhumane to attempt) nor beat them out of their perverse Opinions, (which were unchristian) yet at least it is the Publick Interest and the Magistrates Duty to *pinion their Hands*, and bind them to the Peace; and

and the Kings Charge it must consequently be, to look to *His Subjects Eyes*, as well as he can, that they sin not blindly for want of Direction; and especially to their *Arms*, that they sin not with a high Hand for want of Correction; to look well to *Micha* in matters of Religion; to take care to pull False Worship down, and to set up the Power of Godliness in its room. The letting loose of that string of Uniformity, which the Laws have scrued up to its just pitch, will make greater Discords in the Harmony both of Church and State than we can easily imagine.

Regis quisque intra se animum habet. Every Man is apt to take more Liberty than he will allow, and to look upon the Restraints of Authority as an Incroachment upon his Birth-right; and therefore *doing of Right* is a smooth term with them who are for the most part in the *Wrong*; and *Liberty of Conscience* the plausiblest thing in the World, even among *Men of no Conscience at all*. But our *Wiser Progenitors* who expected Protection, not only for *Themselves* but *their Posterities*, did and might as reasonably *ingage* for our Obedience to them who should protect us; nor are we therefore *born in a state of absolute Liberty*, to chuse what Laws

and Governours we please ; but *Subjects* to that Authority we now live under, which we are bound to preserve both in Church and State with our Lives and Fortunes.

Nor is there any reason we should be *αὐθόρμητοι*, lawless, to do what we please: for we cannot fathom the depth and *deceitfulness* of our own Hearts, much less of the Hearts of other Men, which are *fruitful in evil*, and every day bring forth new *Inventions*. Only this we know, *Cui plus licet quam par est, plus velit quam licet*, We are all the worse for that which we mistake for Liberty, (mistake I say) for to live as we please, is indeed to *lose our Liberty*, of which the Law is so far from being an *Abridgement*, that it is the only *Firm Foundation* upon which it must be built, if it stand for ever, there being no *True Liberty* but *under some Law*; to which when Men fling off their Obedience, they bring themselves under the *Devils Toak*; nor is there any thing *more unlike Liberty* than that which they then contend for with so much heat and violence. A Liberty to manifest our folly and wickedness, to be *unjust and unholy*, to injure our Brethren and our selves, is but a *Licence and Protection for Villany*, which is the greatest *Slavery* on this side Hell; and yet a little more of this

this Liberty they would fain have, who have had *too much* already, (unless they had used it better.) The Croud would fain be let loose, to do what they please; which Freedom that they may the better obtain, they are taught (by them who know best how to set a Rebellion on foot) to pretend *Conscience*, and an *Inward Light* for all their Aims and Actions, how dark and dangerous soever; which fond pretence hath in all Ages *bid defiance* to the Swords and Scepters of *Sovereign Princes*, and *Countermanded* the Laws of their Inacting; and whenever the *Rabble* had a mind to Rebel, every thing they would have introduced or alter'd in the Government was *their Conscience*, and their foulest Villanies were ready to justify themselves by *Scripture Authority*. Now by *their Consciences* (for the Liberty whereof this Nation hath unhappily spent that Blood and Treasure which we might have kept for better purposes) the modestest of them meant, I think, *their Judgment, and Opinion of their own Actions*; and did accordingly become *Humble Petitioners* to our Martyr'd KING of Blessed Memory, that *their Dictates* might be certain *Peculiars* exempt from the Jurisdictions of their Sovereigns Decrees.

No Nation under Heaven hath been more over-stock'd with such *Libertines* than this of ours, where they have been laying the Foundation for above forty years last past, of the most *loose, uncertain* and *pernicious* Religion in the World. When they hear the Eccho of their own Lust and Concupiscence speaking within them; they tell their-deluded Admirers, that it is the Voice of the Spirit; and being once *enlighted with such Illusions*, they bring in God to *Witness against Himself*, and to speak by them *from Heaven* against what he hath declared before by his Son upon Earth; upon which Foundation what a *Babel of Confusion* hath been erected, and what *foul Sins* have advanc'd themselves upon these *specious Principles*, even to the out-facing of all Authority, we have sadly seen and felt too much already.

Men of *Distempered Minds* as well as *Crasie Bodies* being possessed with a discontent and dislike of things present, do naturally imagine that *any thing*, the *Virtue* whereof they hear commended by their Friends, will help them, and *that most* which they have tryed least; and therefore they listen greedily to any *Alterations* of that Government which is uneasy to their Humours. A *Rent* in the Church they hope
may

may make up the *Breaches* in their Estates and Reputations, and the *Ruines* of the Kingdom build up their Fortunes; and therefore no wonder if they desire to acknowledge *No King in Israel* but Christ, and every one to do that which is right in his own Eyes, without the controul of his Governours, who are intrusted with the *Sword of Justice* to repress those Armed Disorders which are embowel'd in that *Trojan Horse*, which these *Crafty Sinons* would introduce.

Hoc Ithacus velit, & magno mercentur Atridae.

If this be admitted, *King JAMES* His Prophecy will be soon fulfill'd, *The Pope will be brought into England upon the Puritans back:* And though I am so *Charitable* as to hope, that they do not in the least design it; yet I am also so *purblind* that I cannot see the least danger of his entrance any other way, notwithstanding the many Jealousies of this kind with which we are daily alarm'd.

But alas, What an *Insignificant Cypher*, what a meer *Piſture of Authority* would a *King* be, if every private *Mans perſwaſion*, which he has learn'd to call his Conſcience, ſhould give *check* to the *Magiſtrates Commands*? And how im-
poſſible

possible is it for the King to abridge them of *Liberty of Conscience*, the pleading for which makes so great a noise in the World? For *Liberty of Conscience* rightly stated, is an Internal and Invisible thing, seated in that part of a Man, of whose secret Operations, which are but pure Speculations, the *Civil Power* can take no Cognizance. Men may *think* of things according to their own persuasions, and assert the freedom of their Judgments in their *Intellectual Kingdoms* against all the Emperours in the World. Nor is such a *Private Sovereignty* as this any Incroachment on the Prerogatives of Princes, because *Meer Opinions* as such, have no influence upon the Good or Evil of Humane Societies, which is the proper Object of Government; so that if the Opinion be *shut up and muzzled*, if it dwell quietly at home, and take not the Air to molest and endanger others, Authority lays no restraint upon it. But when it sallies out of its own *Sanctuary*, into outward Action, and *invades* the Magistrates Territories, till it come from Liberty of Perswasion to Liberty of Practice, and throws *βέλη πεπυρωμένα*, such *Fiery Darts of Satan* among his Subjects as may inflame and wound them, 'tis both his *Duty and Interest* to have a care of the Publick Weal,

Eph. 6.16.

Weal, and to put a Bit in the Mouth of such an head-strong and unbridled Liberty as would run full speed into all the Milchiefs and Enormities imaginable. God knows the generality of Mens Consciences are very insufficient and *incompetent Judges* of their own Actions; and to leave them to the Government of their own *Delusive Perswasions*, were in effect to deliver them up to Satan, to be abused and tormented with every Lust, which had debauched their Understandings. We have seen of late years what a *Cross-grain'd Thing* this *Liberty of Conscience* is, how many *Rebels it Armed*, and how many *Drums* it beat up for Reformation, till Humour, Prejudice and Peevishness prevailed to Murder the *Best of Princes*. Nor can we be reasonably startled at any greater *Symptoms of the departure* of that *Happy Government* which God hath now blessed us with, than every Mans resolving to be over-ruled by none but his own Perswasions; from the growth of which pernicious Delusion, Good Lord deliver us. For if there were *No King in our Israel*, we should soon feel by these Mens Actions what were *Right in their Eyes*, and be thoroughly convinced of the Truth of *the third part of my Text*; viz.

III. *The Infallible Connexion between that Antecedent and this Consequent*, the Loss of a King and Licentiousness. *In those days there was no King in Israel, Quid plus velit ira ?* There was no full stop to more Miseries yet ; there is but a meer *Comma* , a short breathing space, and it instantly follows, *Every Man did that which was right in his own Eyes.* We are not yet grown so old in our regained Happiness, as to have out-worn the sense of our late Disorders. Those *Fatal Days* are not yet forgot , wherein the *Cursed Regicides* pull'd down *Gods Deputy* to set up *Devotion*, defac'd the *Churches* to introduce a *Form of Godliness*, and grub'd up the soundest and straitest *Cedars* of it by the *Roots*, to plant a *Grove* of crooked hollow hearted *Elders* in their room, till they came to hold the *Laws* themselves *under Sequestration* , as well as the *Rights and Revenues* of the *Crown and Church* , and of all such good *Subjects and Christians* as had *Courage and Conscience* enough to defend either. Indeed we can hardly name that *Wickedness* which was not then *Tolerated, Countenanced, Encouraged and Applauded*, when the *Sword of the Spirit* had once found a new way to the *Conscience*, even by cutting thorow the *Flesh*. From which horrible

rible *Enormities*, which a *King in Israel* would, and when he is *Dethron'd*, none else can, prevent and remedy, give me leave by way of Application to infer three things.

1. *The Necessity of Laws and Governours.* If all Men were *Vertuous*, every Man would be a *Law to himself*; but there being *very few* who can guide themselves, and *very many* who will not be guided by others without constraint, there is a visible need both of a *Directive Power* to make *Laws*, and of a *Coactive* to put them in Execution. The *Law without the King* is but a *Dead Letter*, He is *νόμος ζων*, the *Living Law*; and as without Government there would be no *Communities*, but rather *Herd*s of Men; so without such *Coercive Power* of his, there could be no Government; and if the *Power* of which the King is possess'd did not so *vastly exceed* that of his Subjects who are to obey, that in case of a *Contest* it would be most unreasonable for them to hope to maintain their Cause and Party against him, we should never be free from Tumults and Seditions; and therefore Men being more Ruled by Hopes and Fears, than by a sense of Duty and love of Goodness, 'tis necessary for the *Maintenance of Societies*, not only that it be

declared, *What Men ought to do* ; but also that the *Penalties* be set forth which they ought to suffer upon the Violation of those Laws whereupon the Society doth subsist, for which they are to be *accountable* to such who by their Oaths and Offices are bound to see the Laws obey'd, and Offenders punished : so that although there be Kings, yet except they carefully *execute their Laws*, that no Man be suffer'd to *do what is right in his own Eyes*, without suffering the Penalties imposed by Law, Disorder and Dissolution will quickly follow.

The Laws ought to be of an *Unyielding and Inflexible Temper*, and not such soft and easie things as to bend to their humour whom they ought to command. Nor do I know any Rule either of *Policy* or *Piety*, whereby the *Conscience of the Superiour* is bound to relax his Laws, because the *Inferiour* thinks so. For if *one Man* can make it necessary to change the Law in compliance with his Opinion, then why not *every one* ? and so no Law shall be in force, but what Malefactors have a mind to, and every Man shall be bound to please himself in *doing that which is right in his own Eyes*, which is the ready way to Nurse up Factions and Seditions to a *Grandure so formidable*, as to be able when they

they see their own time to change the Government of Church and State. •

•Tis *sometimes necessary* for the Publick Weal to punish *Well-meaning Persons* for such Offences into which they have been betrayed through their own Ignorance and Inadvertency, and by the artifice of some *Grand Seducers*: but it is *always necessary* to punish such, who unless they *mean better* now than they did before, mean to *bathe* their *Tender Consciences* in the Blood of our Gracious Sovereign and their fellow-Subjects; and therefore it is high time for them who are *in Authority*, not only to consider the *present*, but to enlarge their Vigilancy for the *times to come*; to permit nothing *now*, which may *hereafter shake the Throne of David*, and to bestir themselves against such *Anti-Monarchical*, and *Anti-Episcopal Spirits*, as have been *Conjured up* in this *Rebellious and Disputing Age*, till they *lay* such *Infernal Impostors*, and *compel* them to that *Modesty and Obedience* by the *Sword of Justice*, to which all the *Rhetorick and Reason* in the *World* can never *court* them. And I know your *Lordships* understand your selves and the present Distempers of this poor distracted Kingdom better than to hope to remove the Disease by
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feeding the Humour. If the Foundations of Faith, Good Life and Government be not secured by the due execution of the Laws, we shall neither have Truth nor Peace long among us: From whence we may infer,

2. *The great Benefit of a Legitimate King and his Government*, as of that in which our Strength lies, as did *Sampsons in his Hair*; which if cut off, we should quickly betray our Weakness to the *Philistines* falling upon us. *Munimentum Gentis est Justitia*; Justice is the Fortification of a Kingdom, and Laws the *Soul of the Body Politick*, by which its parts are *animated* and set a work in such Actions as the common good requires, which taught *Plato* to derive their Pedigree from Heaven, Νόμος ἐστὶν εὐτυχία μὲν καὶ σωτηρία τοῦτο. And indeed the World, which would otherwise be a *Salvage Wilderness*, is by Government made a *Terrestrial Paradise*, the Type and Representation of that which is Eternal, whilst every Man *sits under his own Vine and Figtree*, gathering his own Fruit, and not reaching his Hand into anothers Vineyard. Thus are Men by the *Kings Power* made just to others and themselves; and as they may not offer violence, so neither need they fear to suffer it; they may not disturb their Brethrens Peace, nor need

need they be jealous of their own, no Man being permitted to *do that which is right in his own Eyes*, unless it be also agreeable to the Laws of God and the King; and the Outcries of such against the Magistrates as are thus happily bound by them to their Good behaviour, are no more to be regarded by them than those of Mad-men against their Physicians.

Nor do *Kings*, who are *Gods among Men*, go out of their way in managing the Affairs of *his Kingdom*. For if *none* had Power to order *Matters of Religion*, there would be nothing but *Confusion*; if any besides the *Supream Magistrate*, nothing but *Division*; and therefore the *Jews* tell us, that the *Keys of the Temple* were not hung at the High Priests Girdle, but laid every Night under *Solomons Pillow*, as belonging to his charge. And for as much as the *King of England* holds his Crown of God *in Capite*, to Him must he go, not to the *Pope* for his Directions in this matter. He is to consult *Moses and the Prophets*, not *Him and his Cardinals*. His Sword is to be guided and restrained by the *Laws of Heaven*, and not controuled by those of *Rome*. King *James* one would think had said enough to make their *Papal-Bulls* pull in their *Horns* with shame, and to teach all *Christian*

stian Kings to take heed of being *toss'd* by them, with whom *King-Killing* hath *passed the Muster* not only of *Works acceptable to God*, but also of such *Meritorious Ones* as may justly purchase the *Crown of Martyrdom*. They call the *Murder of Heretical Princes* an holy and honourable *Exploit*, by which they shall merit *Salvation*; which though *St. Paul* forbid the *Romans* to whom he wrote under *Pain of Damnation*, yet, yet does the *Pope of Rome* and his *Affertors* encourage *Subjects* to, as that to which they are bound under no less a penalty, (*Conscientiæ vinculo arctissimo*, says *Creswell*.) I know there are many *Loyal Persons* of the *Romish Perswasion*, who do abhor those *Jesuitical Principles and Practices*; and I wish the *Pope* would be so just to himself and us, and so kind to them, as to call those *Church-men* of his in question, who have publicly abetted such *Treasonable Conspiracies*, and that he would publish his *Pontifical Decree* to provide for the *Safety of Kings* a little better than his *Colledge of Jesuits* have done, and to censure *Mariana's* and such other Books as have commended *Regicides*, to the great scandal of *Religion*, and then his *Profelytes* would have no occasion to complain of *Persecution* here in *England*, which the *Protestant Religion* doth no where teach.

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All *Ecclesiastical Officers* are but the *Kings Under-ministers*, who being the *Head of all* under Christ, ought to have an especial care of his *Body the Church*, that no turbulent Papists or Phnaticks may under pretence of Conscience and Reformation, out-face and controul God's and his Authority, and raise such Quarrels in the Church about Ceremonies, as may at last imbroid his Kingdom in the greatest Disorders and Exorbitancies imaginable. And indeed when Men are grown so hardy as to venture upon the Mouth of any *Cannon* which is not charg'd with *Chain-shot*, but with the *Brutum Fulmen* of a Flashy Excommunication, which doth no Execution upon their *Bodies* or *Estates*, it is much to be feared that they will, when they see their opportunity, assault the *Power it self* that set them up, if they in whom the Execution of the Laws is intrusted, do not think fit to proportion their strictness to the stubbornness of Gain-sayers, but the *Rulers* permit what the *Rule* forbids to the encouragement of disobedience. For unless *Justice* do inflict the Wrath, as well as *Conscience* enact the Law, Impunity will breed Insolence, and Vice grow the greater by prohibition. Yield them up this one *Flower of the Kings Crown*, and their *Incroaching Fingers* will be

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reaching after another ; their Malice being so unreasonable, that it hath been found much easier to *deny them all*, than having gratified them *in part* to prescribe them a *measure*. And certainly one great cause why this Kingdom hath more *Rebels* than Murderers, more *Schismatics* than *Sodomites*, more *stubborn Nonconformists* than High-way-men, is because there is a more strict execution of the Laws against the one, than against the other. Give *not me* therefore, but *God leave*, whose Minister I am here as *your Honours* are on *the Bench*, to call upon you to remember the *Church of England*, when you sit down to Consult and Judge, that her Sons may not forget *your Lordships* when they kneel down to pray ; and this we beg the more earnestly, because the *unsheathing of your Swords* may happily prevent the *destroying Angels drawing his*. I am not tempted to sin against the *Publick Character* which hath been so deservedly given to *your Lordships*; nor do I in the least suspect any *active* or *passive Injustice* in you, or that you need any encouragement of mine to act according to the Dictates of your Consciences, and the Limits of your Commissions ; and therefore all that I have said in this matter is design'd to justify to others the Oeconomy and Equity of your constant
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care and proceedings in this kind, and not only the *reasonableness*, but the indispenfible *necessity* which lies upon you of performing that *Great Trust* which God and the King have reposed in you, for the Publick Good of this Church and Kingdom.

But I know the *touchiness* of the times in which I speak to be as *admirable* as their *contempt of Authority*; and do therefore expect to be told by some who are conscious to themselves how much they have deserved to feel the smart of your Censures in this kind; how ill it becomes a *Minister of the God of Peace*, whose Mercy is above all his Works, either to be angry my self, or to *incense your Lordships* against such dissenting Brethren, who sometimes perhaps obey for wrath, and sometimes also disobey for Conscience sake; and that I should rather in *meekness instruct those that oppose themselves*, if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledgment of the Truth, than invite others to persecute them. For so both the *Romanists and Sectaries* have agreed to call the *Execution of the Penal Laws*, and to charge them upon the *Church of England*, which hath no hand in the Execution of them. I thank God, I never yet was, nor ought I to be angry with any Man for *not seeing with my Eyes*, for

not being of my Perswasion; nor have I so much heat, nor so little light, but that I can over-look their Misapprehensions with the coolest Indifference imaginable, and do daily pray from the bottom of my Heart, that *God would bring into the way of Truth all such as have erred and are deceived.* But when Men will set up *Altar against Altar*, and *Pulpit against Pulpit*, not only *without*, but *against Authority*, and make no more of *Obedience and Subjection* than of a *Ceremony*, (for which they seem to mistake them) I cannot imagine how the *Laws* could be *less severe* against them than they are, nor how the *Magistrate* can more seriously oblige them, than by over-ru'ing them to that degree of *Conformity* which is both their *Duty* and *Happiness*.

The *Church of Christ* among us, which was once undoubtedly as *seamless as his Coat*, these *Canting Deceivers* have now of late so rent by *Schisms*, so torn by *Separations*, that it is become like *Joseph's Coat*, *one piece is hardly coloured like another*; and I pray God it prove not like it in another particular also, that it be not once more *dyled Red*, and imbrued in *Blood* again. I need not tell you what the *Donatists* did in *Africa* against *Maximinian*, nor *John of Leydens Men* at *Munster*. The *Popes of Rome*,
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for all their *Age and Holiness*, have more than once attempted to *commit a Rape* upon the Crown and Church of *England*; and we have also smartly felt, how *hard* the Hearts and Hands of those *Tender Consciences* were, which were Nurs'd up at *Geneva*. The *Foxes* did then (as they do now) *look several ways*, but we find our *Fields* wasted, and can hardly tell, which were the greater *Trespassers*; and God forbid that either of their *Dominions* should ever be *founded* in His *MAJESTIES* Grace. I hope this Nation lies under no *Disloyal Temptations* to a *Second Holy War*, because we cannot yet have forgot what a *vast Expence* of Blood and Treasure the *First* cost us. I doubt not but our former Experience will Discipline us into an abhorrency of all those *Unnatural Methods* which may infer the like Catastrophe. It is not long since the *Lord turned again the Captivity of our Sion*; and are we already so *sick* of our Liberty, and so fond to go back, as if with the male-content *Israelites* our Delight were in *Egypt*, and we long'd to be Dancing after the *Phrygian Musick* of Drums and Trumpets? What is it that you *want* to compleat your Happiness, unless it be to *understand* it better, and to be more *thankful* for it? Will not the
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Miracle of the Kings and Churches Restauration rise up in Judgment against us, if we so soon grow a weary of our Deliverance as to blaspheme GOD and the KING, and deflower the Beauty of his Crown with *Satyrical Invectives*, and gratifie his Enemies with *Libels* against his Person and Government? The very *Heathens* themselves had Divinity enough to pay Devotion to their Princes. *Imperator tanquam presenti & corporali Deo, Fidelis est præstanda devotio*; and if our Religion do not improve our Loyalty beyond theirs, it is *not from above*, and we shall be found Rebels against Heaven as well as Him. For they who do not obey the King, who is a *Visible God*, will never obey God, who is an *Invisible King*. If therefore you desire to approve your selves good Subjects and Christians, invent not any *Evil Stories* of Him whom God hath set over you, falsly; believe them not easily, report them not disloyally, aggravate them not spitefully, scatter them not industriously, but apprehend such *Disloyal Thiefs*, whom you take a Pillaging your Princes Good Name; the forward Receiver of any evil report, being as bad as he that brings it. And remember that *Railing against Kings* was a *Capital Crime* in *David's*

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Judgment, who commanded Solomon to put ^{1 Kin.2.9} Shimei to death for it.

Let all your things be done with Charity; but let that Charity begin at home, and let the Father of your Country and your Mother Church taste the first fruits of it. As many as are acted by calm and peaceable Principles, have as much Liberty by Law as they can desire, and much good it may do them. For those who are otherwise minded, it were an unpardonable Diminution of the Wisdom and Authority of the King and Parliament to say they deserv'd it. Unless there be five or more assembled together over and besides those of the same Household where their Conventicle or Assembly is, the Law made Ann. 22 CAROLI Secundi, for the Prevention and Suppression of Seditious Conventicles, takes no Cognizance of them; and yet still they complain of Want of Liberty. Now it cannot be a Liberty of Serving God which they want, for he hath promised that *Wheresoever two or three are met together in his Name, he will be in the midst of them*; (and the Law allows them this, and as much more :) but it must be a Liberty of increasing their Factions, till their Numbers may come to give Laws to the Government. His MAJESTY hath done nothing to impose
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upon their Consciences. I wish I could also as truly say that *they* had done nothing to *oppose* his Authority: for the Benefits whereof that we may bleſs God, as becomes us, and pray the more heartily for its continuance, I shall deſcant in the cloſe of my Diſcourſe upon,

3 Our Happineſs under a Monarchical Government, which hath this preſcription and advantage *above* all other forms, that it carries a more evident ſtamp of *Divine Inſtitution* than any other, and is the more likely to *avoid* or put an end to all *Diviſions* whatſoever. For where there are *many* Governours, there muſt needs be Differences; where there are *few*, there eaſily may be; where there is but *one*, there cannot, the intermediate Officers having their Subordination either to other, and all to him, who as God

Numb 11. ſaid to *Moses*, hath need of ſuch Under-Officers,

17. *becauſe he is not able to bear the burden alone.* We

have a KING after Gods and our own Heart; may his Reign be long and *prosperous*: He is Gods High Steward and Miniſter; and You, My Lords, are His, from whom you derive your Authority for the puniſhment of Evil-doers, that we may lead a peaceable Life in all Godlineſs and Honeſty. If therefore any have done what is right in their own Eyes, (but not

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in those of the Law) I doubt not but that you will let them know, that *There is a King in Israel*, by bringing them to suffer what is right in yours; that *whosoever will not do the Laws of our God and the King*, may have Judgment Ezra 7.28 executed speedily upon them, whether it be death, or to banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment. Which benefit whilst the Country reaps by the execution of your Trust, (who are the Kings best *Life-guard in times of Peace*) the very feet of those who bring tydings of your coming, will be beautiful on the Mountains; and your Honours will be received with the greatest alacrity and demonstrations of Joy imaginable, as *Good Angels of God and the King*; to whom we are in such deep Arrears of Duty and Allegiance, that we can never pay him the Interest of our Obligations. *Nemo Patri Patriæ parem refert gratiam, etiamsi vitam impendat*: No Man can be grateful enough to his Prince, though he sacrifice his Life to his Service. Indeed we are blind to our own Interest, if we do not tender him as *the Apple of our Eye*; Submit both our *Persons and Estates* to be commanded at his pleasure; in as much as all our *private Concerns* are imbark'd in that *Publick Bottom*, whose Exigencies must be supplied with Men
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and Money according to the *Kings Discretion*, who with the Advice and Assistance of his great *Council the Parliament*, is the best Judge of Publick Necessity. As we are *all* comprehended in, so are we *obliged* to the good of the Nation, upon which whatsoever we bestow returns to our selves, the King having no more than the serious care of a *Publick Guardian* to lay out our Services, and some part of our Estates for our own good, of which no Revenue remains to himself but care and trouble.

If Men did bear true Faith and Allegiance to God and the King, and would stick to the plain Principles of the *Gospel*, and of a *Vertuous Life*, their very Souls would be subject to the Higher Powers; and *Disobedience* would be to them, as it is to God, as hateful as the *Sin of Witchcraft*; and contempt of Authority, though in the *smallest* matters, would appear to deserve the *greatest* punishment; and they would then take better care to *secure their own Consciences and the Publick Peace*, than to arraign the *Prudence of Authority*, and the *Justice of Laws* at the Bar of their *private Discretion*, by the odious Name of *Persecution*, in so licentious a manner as they now generally do, and controul the *Wisdom of their Superiours* because they
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have little or none themselves. Then would they also perceive how *just and necessary* it is, that since Men have not all *one Reason* in them, they should at least have *one Power* over them, to render such Acts ineffectual by the due execution of Impartial Justice, which might be done by any to the disturbance of the Community.

When there was *No King or Judge in Israel*, Religion first, then *all* went to rack: But God having now blessed us with a King and his Judges, (thanks be to him) we have no need to fear the return of such Disorders; neither *Micha* for all his *Wealth*, nor *Dan* for all his *Forces*, nor *Gibeah* for all their *Multitude*, no discontented Persons or Parties of what *Faith* or *Faction* soever, may *do what is right in their own Eyes*, unless they mean to *suffer what is right in yours*, who are as much bound in *Conscience* to execute the *Laws*, as they would make us believe they were to break them. Nor will you be the worse beloved of *God*, or good *Men*, for preserving an opinion of your Justice and Severity, but be highly *applauded* here, and *rewarded* hereafter. Hereby may you promise your selves *our bended Knees* at the Throne of Grace, for your long Lives and endless Happiness.

piness. You will be *feared* of the Kings and your Enemies, and be *beloved* of his and your Friends : Your *Mother Church* will bless you, and God for you ; and *your Father which is in Heaven* will bestow upon you a Crown of Eternal Glory, saying, *Well done good and faithful Servants, enter into the Joy of your Master*, where you shall be *eternally blessed* with what we now desire to ascribe to the *Great Judge of Heaven and Earth*, all Honour, Power and Glory. A M E N.

F I N I S.
